

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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EO 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR, BL

SUBJECT: TODMAN CONVERSATION WITH BOLIVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

1. FOLLOWING IS MY RECOLLECTION OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN'S CONVERSATION WITH BOLIVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GENERAL OSCAR ADRIAZOLA. THIS REPORTING TELEGRAM WAS PREPARED AFTER AMBASSADOR TODMAN'S DEPARTURE FROM LA PAZ.

2. AFTER ROUTINE EXCHANGE OF PLEASANTRIES AND PICTURE-TAKING, FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENCED ONE-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH TODMAN DESCRIBING THE VALUE OF FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE FOR SENIOR DECISION-MAKERS OF THE USG. HE SAID THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WASHINGTON LEADERS UNDERSTAND THAT MILITARY GOVERNMENTS HAVE COME TO POWER IN MANY OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTHERN CONE TO COMBAT MARXISM AND TO RESTORE THE NATION TO STABILITY AND PROGRESS. FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED THAT ARMED FORCES IN MOST COUNTRIES IN THIS AREA ARE THE ONLY INSTITUTION OR GROUP WHOSE MOTIVATIONS ARE PURELY PATRIOTIC AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE. HE SAID POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE BEEN CORRUPT, PERSONALISTIC AND CONTRIBUTED LITTLE TO THE BENEFIT OF THE COUNTRY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT MILITARY REGIMES ARE TRANSITORY AND HAVE EVERY WISH TO RESTORE DEMOCRATIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL RULE. THE PROBLEM, HE SAID, IS THAT TIME IS NEEDED TO PREPARE THE PEOPLE FOR LEGITIMATE DEMOCRATIC

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RULE AND TO PREVENT THE RETURN OF SELFISH POLITICAL INTERESTS. HE INDICATED THAT THE GOB HAS EVERY INTENTION OF MOVING TO A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT BY 1980 BUT ONLY IF THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT. TODMAN SAID US BELIEVED IN POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT AND SUPPORTED IDEA OF RETURNING GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE, BUT THAT EACH GOVERNMENT MUST DECIDE FOR ITSELF HOW AND WHEN TO

MAKE MOVE IN LIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN EACH COUNTRY.

3. THE FOREIGN MINISTER THEN MOVED TOWARD A DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE OBSERVED THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE GOVERNMENT ARRANGE FOR PROTECTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION AND TO PREVENT SUBVERSIVE MARXISTS FROM UTILIZING THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE TO DESTROY THE STABILITY AND PROGRESS WHICH IS BENEFITING THE ENTIRE BOLIVIAN POPULATION. HE SAID THAT THIS TREATMENT MUST BE ACCORDED TO TERRORISTS WHO ENGAGE IN VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST INNOCENT PEOPLE. HE CITED AS AN EXAMPLE THAT A PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR EXPLODING A BOMB IN A CROWDED MOVIE THEATER KILLING CHILDREN, WOMEN AND THE ELDERLY, COULD NOT BE GIVEN NORMAL TREATMENT AND IN ALL LIKELIHOOD MIGHT BE SUBJECTED TO POLICE ORDERS TO SHOOT ON SIGHT. AMBASSADOR TODMAN TOOK SERIOUS ISSUE WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AT THIS POINT, ADVOCATING THAT MILITARY REGIMES ADHERE TO THE LETTER OF THE LAW EVEN IN CASES INVOLVING TERRORISTS WHO HAD COMMITTED VIOLENCE. TODMAN SAID THAT GOVERNMENTS MUST AVOID GETTING DOWN ON THE SAME LEVEL AS EXTREMISTS. AFTER A REBUTTAL BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER THEY AGREED TO PUT THIS POINT ASIDE AS ONE OF AN UNDERSTOOD DISAGREEMENT.

4. TODMAN ASKED THE FOREIGN MINISTER FOR HIS VIEWS ON BOLIVIA'S QUEST FOR AN ACCESS TO THE SEA AND POSSIBLE FRICTION BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU. WITH REGARD TO THE FORMER, THE MINISTER SAID THAT AT THE MOMENT MATTERS STOOD AT AN IMPASSE. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT THE RECENT MEETING OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BOLIVIAN AMBASSADORS TO THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE MIGHT RESULT IN SOME NEW TACTICAL APPROACHES TOWARD SOLVING THE SEA OUTLET ISSUE. AS TO THE LATTER MATTER, HE SAID THAT IT IS INEVITABLE THAT CHILE AND PERU WILL GO TO WAR. THE PERUVIAN SENTIMENT FOR RECOVERY OF LOST TERRITORIES IS SO GREAT THAT IT CANNOT BE CONTAINED. THE CHILEAN POSITION OF DEFENDING TERRITORY CONQUERED IN THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC IS EQUALLY STRONG. THE NET RESULT, HE SAID, IS INEVITABLE CONFLICT. HE NOTED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE BOLIVIAN POLICY TO JUMP IN ON THE SIDE OF ONE OR THE OTHER BUT WOULD BE TO MAINTAIN STRICT NEUTRALITY. THE ASSISTANCE OF THE US IN PACIFYING THE POTENTIAL OPPONENTS AND IN HELPING PRESERVE BOLIVIAN NEUTRALITY IS ESSENTIAL. IN CONCLUDING THESE POINTS, ADRIAZOLA SAID THAT IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN AN ACCESS TO THE SEA, BUT WERE IT TO BE ACHIEVED, IT SHOULD SERVE AS A BUFFER BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU, THUS REDUCING FRICTION BETWEEN THEM.

5. TODMAN ASKED ADRIAZOLA FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE IMPORTANCE

OF THE OAS AND WAYS IN WHICH IT COULD BE STRENGTHENED.  
THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID AS MATTERS STAND NOW THE OAS  
PLAYS A VERY INSIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE HEMISPHERE WHEREAS  
IT SHOULD BE A MAJOR FORCE, PARTICULARLY IN KEEPING THE  
PEACE. HE SAID THAT THE OAS IS A CREATURE OF ITS MEMBERS  
AND CAN ONLY BE AS STRONG AND ACTIVE AS THEY WISH IT TO  
BE. POINTING A FINGER AT TODMAN, HE SAID THAT IT IS  
VITAL FOR THE US TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN GETTING THE OAS  
RESHAPED AND INVIGORATED SO IT CAN PLAY A MORE IMPORTANT  
ROLE IN HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS.

6. THE CONVERSATION WAS CORDIAL THROUGHOUT, EVEN IN  
THE ONE AREA OF DISAGREEMENT, AND SET THE STAGE FOR THE  
CONVERSATION AMBASSADOR TODMAN HAD WITH PRESIDENT BANZER  
IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER. THAT CONVERSATION WILL BE REPORTED  
IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

STEDMAN

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